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Message Text

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CIAE-00 DODE-00 EA-11 PM-09 H-02 INR-10 L-03 NASA-04

NEA-10 NSAE-00 NSC-10 OIC-04 PA-03 PRS-01 RSC-01

GAC-01 SCI-06 SS-15 MBFR-03 USIA-12 SAJ-01 RSR-01

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R 042000 Z MAY 73
FM USMISSION USUN NY
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7825
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 1677

E. O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, PFOR, UR, UN
SUBJ: WDC SPECIAL COMITE: MAY 2

BEGIN SUMMARY: SPECIAL COMITE, CONTINUING INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS MAY 2, AGREED TO MEET AGAIN MAY 7, WHEN, ONCE MORE, FOCUS WILL BE ON HOVEYDA' S " MANDATE." ARGENTINA AND MEXICO SPOKE MAY 2 FOR FIRST TIME, CONFIRMING IMPORTANCE OF PARTICIPATION BY FOUR NUCLEAR POWERS IN SPECIAL COMITE. HOVEYDA HAS TOLD US THAT HE EXPECTS TO SEEK APPOINTMENT WITH AMB SCALI NEXT WEEK BUT THAT HE WOULD NOT BE PRESSING, EITHER IN CONTACT WITH US OR IN COMITE, TOWARD EARLY COMPLETION OF EITHER HIS OR COMITE' S TASK. END SUMMARY.

1. WDC SPECIAL COMITE CONTINUED INFORMAL CONSULTATION ON MAY 2 WITH HOVEYDA STILL PRESIDING. SPEAKERS INCLUDED USSR, ARGENTINA, MEXICO, SRI LANKA, CHILE, SWEDEN AND YUGOSLAVIA.

2. MALIK (USSR), IN OPENING STATEMENT OF MEETING IN WHICH HE REHASHED MANY PREVIOUS POSITIONS, URGED THAT HOVEYDA WITH
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CONTACT GROUP SHOULD MEET SOON WITH FOUR NUCLEAR POWERS TO DETERMINE THEIR ATTITUDES AND INVITE THEIR PARTICIPATION-- EITHER DRIECT OR INDIRECT-- IN THE SPECIAL COMITE; HE ADVOCATED RESOLVING REGIONAL REPRESENTATION PROBLEM BY

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INVITING ADDITIONAL COUNTRIES TO PARTICIPATE IN COMITE' S INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS; HE URGED THAT SECRETARIAT BE ASKED TO PREPARE ANALYSIS OF ATTITUDES OF BOTH MEMBERS AND NON-MEMBERS OF SPECIAL COMITE. IN COURSE OF STATEMENT, MALIK ALSO MADE FOLLOWING POINTS: COMITE HAD MADE POSITIVE BEGINNING WHICH SHOULD LEAD TO FORMAL COMITE MEETING; TWO PRINCIPAL QUESTIONS AT ISSUE ARE PARTICIPATION OF NUCLEAR POWERS AND REGIONAL REPRESENTATION; USSR ATTACHES GREAT IMPORTANCE OF PARTICIPATION OF ALL NUCLEARS IN WDC AND WDC PREPARATORY WORK; HOVEYDA AND CONTACT GROUP SHOULD APPROACH NUCLEAR FOUR IMMEDIATELY; TREPCZYNSKI APPROPRIATELY FULFILLED WDC RESOLUTION' S REQUIREMENT FOR BOTH POLITICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL REPRESENTATION.

3. DE RAZAS (ARGENTINA), SPEAKING FOR FIRST TIME IN SPECIAL COMITE CONSULTATIONS, SAID ARGENTINA IN PARTICULARLY DIFFICULT SITUATION SINCE IT WANTS TO SEE SPECIAL COMITE SUCCEED BUT THIS APPEARS TO BE SOMEWHAT ILLUSORY BECUASE OF VARIOUS DIS-AGREEMENTS INCLUDING THOSE OVER COMPOSITION OF COMITE. SPCIAL COMITE, HOWEVER, SHOULD NOT LOSE SIGHT OF LONG- TERM GOAL RELATING TO WDC ITSELF: PRIMARY OBJECTIVE IS NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT AND FOR THIS PURPOSE PARITICPATION BY FOUR NUCLEARS IN BOTH WDC AND ITS PREPARATORY WORK IS NECESSARY. ARGENTINA, DE ROZAS SAID, IS CONSCIOUS OF FACT THAT PURPOSE OF SC IS NOT TO CONSIDER BROADER QUESTIONS OF NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT AND THAT ITS FUNCTIONS THEREFORE COULD BE CARRIED OUT WITHOUT NUCLEARS, BUT THIS WOULD BE " DETRIMENTAL." CRITICIZING PROPOSALS THAT HAD BEEN MADE PREVIOUSLY, DE ROZAS SAID CONSULTATIONS BY COMITE WITH FOUR NUCLEARS HAD MERIT BUT THIS INFORMAL GROUP DOES NOT REPEAT NOT HAVE SUCH AUTHORITY. SIMILARLY, COMITE IS NOT COMPETENT TO AUTHORIZE STUDY BY SECRETARIAT. HOWEVER, SPCIAL COMITE MEMBERS COULD NEGOTIATE INFORMALLY AMONG SELVES TO PREPARE TO MAKE INFORMAL RECOMMENDATIONS AT 28 TH GA.

4. GARCIA ROBLES (MEXICO), ALSO SPEAKING FOR FIRST TIME, SAID ALL NUCLEARS SHOULD PARTICIPATE IN SPCIAL COMITE. HE
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QUALIFIED THIS BY CHARACTERIZING THEIR PARTICIPATION AS " PREFERABLE" WHILE COOPERATION IS " ESSENTIAL." GARCIA ROBLES RAISED STRONG LEGAL OBJECTIONS TO SOV PROPOSAL THAT COMITE AUTHORIZE ANALYTICAL STUDY BY SECRETARIAT; HE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT ONE DEL OR GROUP OF DELS COULD WRITE LETTER TO SYG ON THEIR OWN BEHALF TO ALERT SYG TO " DESIRABILITY" OF HAVING CERTAIN DOCUMENTS PREPARED FOR 28 TH GA.

5. SRI LANKA TOOK ISSUE WITH MALIK' S DEFENSE OF POLITICAL REPRESENTATION IN SC, INSISTING THAT WHILE TREPCZYNSKI' S NOMINATIONS HAD SATISFIED GEOGRAPHICAL REQUIREMENT, THEY DID NOT MEET POLITICAL MEEDS. SPECIAL COMITE SHOULD CONCENTRATE

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ON FULFILLING MANDATE OF RESOLUTION AND FOR THIS PURPOSE,
SRI LANKA REP CONCLUDED, PARTICIPATION OF FIVE NUCLEAR
POWERS NOT REQUIRED.

6. CHILE TOOK POSITION THAT ADDITIONAL REGIONAL REPS
SHOULD BE INVITED TO PARTICIPATE IN CONSULTATIONS AS
OBSERVERS. DIFFERING FROM ARGENTINIAN AND MEXICAN POSITIONS,
CHILE URGED SPECIAL COMITE TO PROCEED NOW TO CARRY OUT
RESPONSIBILITIES.

7. SWEDEN STRESSED THAT ALL NUCLEAR STATES SHOULD PARTICIPATE
IN WDC PREPARATORY WORK.

8. YUGOSLAVIA MADE PRINCIPAL CONCRETE PROPOSAL FOR NEXT STEPS
BY SPECIAL COMMITTEE. MOJSOV CITED LIST OF NINE PROBLEMS THAT
HAD EMERGED AS OBSTACLES TO SPECIAL COMITE' S WORK, AND WENT ON TO URGE

THAT COMITE, THROUGH HOVEYDA, PROCEED ASAP TO RESOLVE TWO
QUESTIONS: (A) ADDITIONAL REGIONAL REPRESENTATION AND
(B) PARTICIPATION BY NUCLEARS.

9. IN COMMENTING ON MAY 2 MEETING, PAKISTAN REP MEHDI (WHO
PROVIDED MUCH OF FOREGOING), DREW OUR ATTENTION TO MALIK' S
REFERENCE TO " INDIRECT" PARTICIPATION BY FOUR NUCLEARS.
PAKISTANI FELT THIS PHRASEOLOGY EDGED MALIK TOWARD POINT MADE
EARLIER BY PAKISTAN THAT COMITE SHOULD SEEK " COOPERATION" OF
FOUR ABSENT NUCLEARS. MEHDI SAID NO ONE AT MAY 2 MEETING
SUPPORTED SRI LANKA DISDAIN FOR PARTICIPATION BY NUCLEARS,
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ALL OTHER WHO ADDRESSED THIS QUESTION CLEARLY BELIEVED THAT
PARTICIPATION BY NUCLEARS WAS NEITHER ADVISABLE OR ESSENTIAL.

10. ONLY CLEAR DECISION OF MAY 2 MEETING WAS TO RECONVENE
MAY 7. MEHDI ANTICIPATES THAT MAY 7 MEETING WILL CONTINUE
REFINEMENT OF HOVEYDA' S " MANDATE," BUT HE NOTED ALSO THAT
THERE IS OBVOUUSLY CONTINUED RESISTANCE TO GIVING HIM ANY
MANDATE.

11. HOVEYDA TOLD MAB BENNETT MAY 3 THAT HE ANTICIPATES MAY 7
MEETING WILL BE DEVOTED PRINCIPALLY TO HEARING COMMENTS ON
ARGENTINA AND MEXICO STATEMENTS. HOVEYDA SAID HE WOULD MAKE
APPROACH TO FOUR NUCLEARS BUT THAT HE WOULD DO SO ONLY UPON
REQUEST FROM EACH OF THIRTY OTHER INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS OF
COMITE AND NOT ON BEHALF OF GENERAL " COMITE" INSTRUCTION.

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GAC-01 SCI-06 SS-15 MBFR-03 USIA-12 SAJ-01 RSR-01

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12. HOVEYDA TOLD BENNETT HE WOULD NOT ACCEPT ANY PROPOSAL THAT HE BE ACCOMPANIED OR SUPPORTED BY SPECIAL CONTACT GROUP AS PROPOSED BY SOVS. HE WOULD MAKE CONTACTS ALONE. HOVEYDA SAID HE IS CONSULTING PRINCIPALLY WITH " ARGENTINA ON THE RIGHT AND YUGOSLAVIA ON THE LEFT" IN MAPPING OUT HIS OWN PLANS. HOVEYDA REPORTED THAT HE HAD HAD PRIVATE SESSION WITH MALIK IN WHICH HE INSISTED THAT HE WOULD NOT CONTINUE IN CHAIR IF THIS PLACED HIM BETWEEN CHINESE AND SOVS. REGARDING HIS OWN PLANS, HOVEYDA SAID HE HAD POSTPONED DEPARTURE FROM NEW YORK, BECAUSE OF COMITE CONSULTATIONS, UNTIL JUNE 8. THIS WOULD GIVE HIM TIME, HE SAID, TO DIRECT ONE OR TWO MORE INFORMAL MEETINGS. HE ANTICIPATED THAT HE WOULD BE ASKING AMB SCALI FOR APPOINTMENT NEXT WEEK, AFTER MAY 7 MEETING. HOVEYDA EMPHASIZED THAT HOW WE WOULD RESPOND TO HOVEYDA' S APPROACH WOULD BE ENTIRELY UP TO US. IF WE CHOOSE TO TAKE ALL SUMMER TO STUDY QUESTIONS HE RAISES, THIS WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE. HOVEYDA SAID HE ANTICIPATED THAT OTHER NUCLEARS ALSO WOULD TELL HIM THAT QUESTIONS PERTAIN TO VERY INVOLVED SUBJECT AND WOULD TAKE LONG TIME TO ANSWER. HE NOTED HE WOULD BE OUT OF NEW YORK FOR SIX WEEKS, UNTIL MID- JULY, AND, AFTER THAT, AS HE CONFIDENTIAL

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PUT IT: " ALLAH IS GREAT." HOVEYDA TOLD BENNETT HE FELT THAT FORMALIZATION OF SPECIAL COMITE TO BE" OUT OF THE QUESTION" DESPITE CONTINUED SOV INSISTENCE ON COMITE REPORT. THERE SIMPLY IS NO AGREEMENT, HOVEYDA SAID, ON WHO WOULD BE ON COMITE OR WHAT WOULD BE DONE, SO MOST THAT WOULD RESULT WOULD BE EXPRESSION OF INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES' VIEWS.

13. COMMENT:

(A) REACTION TO MAY 2 MEETING HAS BEEN MIXED. UK MISSION FEELS

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RESULTS SATISFACTORY, PRINCIPALLY DUE TO " STRONG PERFORMANCE" BY MEXICO AND ARGENTIAN, EVEN THOUGH UKUN JUDGES IT QUITE POSSIBLE THAT MAY 7 MEETING WILL BE FOLLOWED BY OTHERS. PAKISTAN REP BELIEVES THAT MARGINAL PROBABILITY THAT COMITE WILL NEVER FORMALIZE. BELGIAN REP, HOLDING MOST OPTIMISTIC VIEW, HOLDS THAT COMBINATION OF EUROPEANS AND LATINS CAN PREVENT FORMALIZATION. ITALIAN CHARGE, NOTING INTER ALIA AFRICANS' UNDEPENDABILITY AND THEIR FAILURE TO SPEAK UP SO FAR, CONTINUES TO FEAR THAT MALIK' S PRESISTENCE AND IM- AGINATION WILL EVENTUALLY PRODUCE FORMAL COMITE ACTION DESPITE SECRETARY GENERAL' S RELUCTANCE TO RE- ENGAGE HIS OFFICE IN CONTROVERSIAL PROJECT BEFORE 28 TH GA. THESE REACTIONS ALL DESPLAYED AT CHINESE MISSION DINNER MAY 3, AT WHICH CHINESE THEMSELVES CONTINUED VIGOROUSLY TO PROCLAIM CATEGORICAL OPPOSITION TO WHOLE EXERCISE AND TO PROBE OTHERS, INCLUDING USUN MISOFF, FOR IDEAS ON HOW MALIK CAN BE STOPPED. IT IS OBVIOUS THAT NOBODY, DESPITE SCENARIO HOVEYDA PROJECTED FOR US, HAS A CLEAR IDEA AS TO HOW SITUATION WILL EVOLVE. CLEAREST FACT AT THIS POINT IS THAT MALIK RETAINS INITIATIVE AND APPARENTLY WILL CONTINUE IN COMING WEEKS TO BE BENEFITTED BY RELUCTANCE OF MEMBERS TO WITHDRAW FROM GROUP THAT MIGHT EVENTUALLY OFFER THEM PIECE OF DISARMAMENT ACTION.

(B) WE PLAN TO CONSULT WITH OTHER THREE NUCLEARS REGARDING BOTH CONTENT AND TIMING OF RESPONSE TO ANTICIPATED HOVEYDA CONTACTS.

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